/82 cont./

701 The more noble subdivisions established themselves from Piracuara upwards (river Papurí), with a group of the Waú-ro coming down as far as Ananaz (Uaupés).

According to Frei Gregório's maps, in 1853 the Tukano on the river Uaupés lived in: Pacú-cachoeira, Iuquira-Rapecuma, S. Joaquim, Naná-Rapecuma, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Iauareté-cachoeira. The first "Relatórios" of the eighteenth century (cf. "Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, No. 174; "Diario" /Diary/ of Sampaio, No. 366) already report the presence of Índios Uaupés in S. Isabel, today Tapurucuá, in the middle Rio Negro. In fact, a Tukano group is still found in that vicinity.

161 According to Koch G. (Festschrift Eduard Seler, 206) the Tukano would come to 1,500 souls. They must, however, be rather more numerous. The statistics of Pelo Rio Mar report in Brazilian territory alone 1,622 individuals; and those of Colombian territory are equally numerous. It is possible that they exceed two thousand.

829 We have sketched the physical appearance of the Tukano (IV -- 1, a (1)). The physical and spiritual qualities do not reveal any superiority over the other tribes. On the contrary, some of these present more delicate features and perhaps even a better configuration and anatomical proportions. Nevertheless, the Tukano, as we have already noted, considers himself /83/ superior to the other tribes and this primacy is peacefully granted [197] to him. The Missionaries explain this superiority by the fact that the other tribes accepted his language as the official, or at least general, idiom on these rivers. Logically the generalization of the idiom would be explained by the superiority of [173] the tribe. This inconsistency is to be pointed out: according to the Tukano tradition, they were defeated by the "Blood children of the Thunder," the Taryana, who finally accepted the Tukano language.

/90 cont./

*101 [173] According to a Tukano tradition collected by Pe. Antônio Giacone, the Tuyuka came down from the cachoeira Uaí-numbí (headwaters of the Macú-paraná); but, under pressure from the Tukano, they were forced to go up the headwaters of the Papurí, from where they went over to those of the Tiquié and settled there.

[115] 3) Divisions -- Informant Henrique Resende, about 35 years old (1953), of the subdivision Dõxpãri, tuxaua of the maloca of the Yai-sa igarapé (Tiquié)

1st. -- Dyáta põna (a small fish), on the Igarapé Inambú
2nd. -- Dyatãñõ-nõ (suspended?), on the Igarapé Inambú
3rd. -- Dyáta yuxkúro (long head), on the headwaters of the Tiquié
4th. -- Iñó-rõ (?), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
5th. -- Iñó-rõ oaká (stake), on the Black Igarapé (Tiquié)
6th. -- Poã-nĩ manĩ (bald), on the Igarapé Marí-iá (Tiquié)
7th. -- Dõxpãri (branches), on the Igarapé Kuxtíro pextá (Tiquié)

/91/

8th. -- Yuxkũro (occipital protuberance), at the mouth of the Açaí-igarapé (Tiquié)
9th. -- Wesé doxká poará -- (Tuyuka of the clearing), above Caruru (Tiquié)
10th. -- Poá pirá (?) on the upper Cabari (Tiquié). They are the pariahs.
11th. -- Axkó kaxpéa -- põna (eye of water), in S. Pedro (Tiquié)
12th. -- Ébera-põna (water duck), on the mouth of the igarapé Boá-ia

[115] The young woman Amélia Resende, 18 years old (1955), added:

13th. -- Myõ dyi-Khãra (doxká-poará), in Cabarí and S. Pedro (Tiquié)
14th. -- Arã põná (child of the mountain range?), on the Igarapé of the breu /a resinous tree/ (the informant is from this group).

/95 cont./

i) IHWANA OR YONA

*101 1) People-Name-Language. -- We were unable to find out for certain the meaning of the name Ihwana or Yona; it might be the name of a fish. The language is of the Tukano family, as is seen from the Vocabulary that we collected in the Wextá maloca on the Pirá-paraná near the mouth of the Komé-ya.

[142] [30] The individuals of the maloca were slighter and had more delicate features than the Tukano. All the men had pierced their ear lobes, keeping them open with a bunch of bird feathers. A cord binding the arms a little below the shoulders, and red paint across the face, indications perhaps of some feast a short [142] time before. Dark hair, cymotrichous, with slight waviness, and eyes lighter than those of the Tukano.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. -- They reside in malocas along the Pirá-paraná and its small tributaries nearby, and below the cachoeira of the Beijú, where at low water one can see a beautiful design that resembles a Chinese dragon. Because of a lack of interpreters, we were unable to find out the number [161] of members of the tribe or /96/ its subdivisions. From the information obtained, we think it might be concluded that there are still several hundreds.

j) KÕ'NEÁ OR ARAPÁSU

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Kõ'neá (in Tukano Kõ-rẽã), the name of a variety of woodpecker called arapásu in Nheengatú.

[173] According to reminiscences of an ancient tradition, it was a very numerous and brave tribe. When individuals of other tribes passed the river Uaupés in the zone dominated by the Arapásu, the latter surrounded them, took away all their products, and afterwards sank their canoes, allowing them, however, to escape. The victims would avenge themselves "blowing" [161] (that is, casting an evil spell; cf. VII -- 2, e (1)) on the Arapásu, who, little by little, became extinct.

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/472 cont./

/footnote 109 cont./ out of another hole at the mouth of a nearby igarapé. The rivers with dark waters, like the Uaupés, form characteristic and abundant foam when they beat against the stones of the cachoeiras. Upon asking a certain individual why there were these inferior divisions, he answered that it is because they did not come out of the water, but from the foam, as if it were from the dregs of depuration.

2nd. -- A second one is that they attribute to themselves a juridical superiority, deriving from the priority in time, something corresponding to the proverb: "qui prior est tempore potior est jure" /one who is first with regard to time is better with regard to rights/. Whoever has settled more recently in a povoado is in a certain inferior position; he is a "transient, Sihyári-maxsã," as they say.

[192]

/473/ The two customs indicated harmonize perfectly; we might think that the second one is a derivation from the first. Upon asking a Tukano Indian from a povoado on the lower Tiquié as to the inhabitants of which povoado he considered Mamí, he answered those of S. José. Further inquiries made among other Indians came to clarify this answer. One of them said he had heard his own grandfather narrating that the Tukano formerly did not live there, but resided on the Papurí. They were expelled from this river by the Taryana, still being a child, therefore, about 100 or 120 years ago, and came to settle in S. José. This information makes S. José the first Tukano nucleus on the river Tiquié.

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One more argument in favor of the probability is given to us by the Tukano name of the locality, which is Maxkã, the town, as if it were the urbs par excellence of these Tukano. All the more probable, since such a designation, besides not being attributed to any other locality, escapes the custom of the names according to the geographical accidents (point, igarapé, stone, cachoeira, hole, etc.), or other circumstances. In the vicinity of S. José,

/473 cont./

173 554 614 there is a place that in Tukano is called Bũxkõrá batha, literally "swimming of the elders," that is, where the elders crossed the river by swimming, fleeing from their enemies. In the vicinity of this spot, about 30 years ago, the elders showed Pe. João Marchesi a section of less dense forest as being the place through which passed the first Tukano coming from the Tiquié on their expeditions of war.

In conclusion, we give the opinion:

174 554 614 1st. -- The natural multiplication of the Indians imposed a division into groups which have established themselves in closer or more distant places, according to the circumstances; for this reason we today find groups of one and the same nation dispersed along the three rivers (Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papuri).

2nd. -- The denominations (110)

[829]

> 110. The distance between these groups has more and more accentuated the separation. If it is true that each individual, even the children, knows the name of his own and of the neighboring subdivisions (and even of other tribes), few of them know how to make a more complete list of the Gentes that make up their tribe.

that characterize each group (Waú-ro, Oyé, etc., cf. IV-2-a (2)) are names or nicknames by which the respective stipites, or some late more famous descendant who provoked the separation or built the new maloca or performed any other deed, were known.

[628] 3rd. -- The relations between the malocas, and the social situation of those who /474/ inhabit them today, are the same as those that existed among the founders, hence the present hierarchy that is in force among the Indians.

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The Cubeo Community

361 The Cubeo Indians occupy a string of settlements along a small stretch of the Vaupés River from Uarúa Lake upstream to Uaracapurí and downstream to near the Brazilian border, as well as along several of the Vaupés tributaries, namely the Cuduiarí and the [61] Querarí and Pirabatón. The tribe consists of some 30 or more patrilineal, exogamous sibs[1] that are grouped into three unnamed confederations or phratries of unequal size that are also exogamous. Although the bulk of the Cubeo now live on the smaller streams—the Cuduiarí, in particular, being heavily populated—the broad [614] Vaupés, that joins with the Rio Negro to enter the Amazon, is regarded by the Indians as their main stream and as their source. Their 173 leading sibs still live there. Native traditions place the emergence of 614 all the Cubeo sibs at two Vaupés sites, at the turbulent cataracts of 361 Yurupari and of Uaracapurí. From there the people moved up the nearby tributary streams, the Cuduiarí, the Querarí, and the 173 Pirabatón, a tributary of the Querarí. The traditions record that 361 the first people displaced groups that were already living along [174] these streams and, in this respect, square with historical observations that pressures of enemy Indian tribes, and, lately, the more potent pressures of white colonizers, have been forcing the Indians to leave the main rivers and take shelter in the more 361 distant and constricted feeder streams, or else face physical or cultural 614 extinction. The more timid and the more humble of the sibs have

[1] Following the usage of Lowie (1920, p. 111), "sib" is synonymous with "clan."

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Caño dwellers are self-conscious; they entertain less and are reluctant to have visitors. I was never invited or encouraged to visit a *caño* dwelling house. I was always told that they did not care to have visitors.

When a headman dies his house is ordinarily abandoned and the new headman undertakes to build a new maloca, since one requirement of the office is his ability to enlist his sibmates in working with him. Abandonment of a house, however, changes mainly the outlines of the clearing if a new site is chosen for the new maloca. A new maloca may be built alongside the old, in which case there is no change at all. Sometimes the new headman decides that the old site was the victim of evil forces and a new clearing is built. But against such a fear is the desire not to abandon still-productive manioc plantations. At all events, a new clearing is normally close enough to the old to ease the transition from last harvest to new harvest. When a site is moved the last harvest is drawn from the old, and cuttings from the old *chagra* (plantation) are planted in the new. Thus there is a transitional period when the community is actually working both clearings. The Cubeo regard this transition period as a difficult one, and until they are drawing a bitter manioc harvest from the new clearing they will be too preoccupied to hold drinking parties. Fruit trees on the old *chagra* are harvested as long as they bear fruit.

The extent of a community's territory is such that it will be able to circulate within it more or less permanently, reoccupying after some 15 years land that has become reforested and so workable again. Boundaries are along a river only. Past the line of cultivation the forest is an undifferentiated darkness.

The traditions of the Cubeo indicate that they were originally dwellers along the Vaupés, the main stream, and that they later moved up the smaller tributaries such as the Cuduiarí and the Querarí. The present distribution of sibs is also interesting in this connection in that high-ranking sibs live along the main stream or along the mouths of the tributaries, whereas the lower-ranking sibs occupy the headwaters of smaller streams. Sib status is definitely associated with location along a river. The back reaches of creeks deep in the forests are the refuge of the weak, whereas the strong occupy a stretch of river that has majesty either by sweep of water or by the character of its rapids. The main site of a sib that has become dispersed is always in a conspicuous part of a river whereas Satellites and Independents often move up small creeks. Father Antonio Giacone of the Salesian Mission has observed that the Tucano (referring to the tribe) never constructed their malocas in creeks but only along the main river. Occupying the main streams, he noted, they

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place of the closed-off creek [a site above Garaño Lake on the Cuduiarí]. Above them was the whirlpool of Guassí and the fast black waters. There, at the whirlpool of the tree trunk, at *hiwakapunáwũ*, at the place of parrots' wings, they portaged overland and they quickly arrived at the place of the *bupékũ* butterflies, at the lake shaped like a container for curare.

They came to the place of many grubs which they cooked into a stew. They came to the high bank where the water rushes in with a sucking sound, to the place of the tangle of roots. They came to the place of the jaguars, to *mahópanwa warindo*, to the place of the bark-cloth fishes, to the creek of the *mimikũ* bird, and then to the place of the pupunha trees. From there they returned and they came to the creek of the *wakúdjari* fruit, to *tcipédikoriba* and *tcipéũ taváno*, and then to the slippery place, and then to the bank of the yellow clay, and then to *tuíbũ*, where the creek of the red fish is, and then to the hill of the háku fish. Then, at a place called *horordkipúru*, they came to the high bank of mud, and then to the place of the parrots [the present site of the *Bahúkiwa* sib]. At the creek of the parrots they came upon the circular trench called "the circle of women" [because it is the women who dug this trench]. There an Ancient who had been tied up by his enemies managed to free himself and escape. Now they continued up the creek to the place of the sweet potato, and they came to the creek of the wild peccary and then on to the lake of the birds and the bird place.

From there they went up the creek of the sweet waters to the place of the doves. And then they went to the place where maize grew and then to the sharp jaguar rock. Here an Ancient, sitting down on the rock, pierced his rectum and died. They went on to the place of the milk palm, to the garden of the jaguar, to the place where the *kamindũ* turned to stone. They came to *kwũnkwũntoto*, where *Kwũnkwũ* the Ancient decided to settle down. [This is the *Bahúkiwa* Ancient who later decided that he did not care to be human and turned himself back into an anaconda.]

The Ancients moved on to the place of the háku and puño fish, to the place of *Wari* the in-law, the hill of the woodpeckers, to the rocky rapids where *Komóri* the Ancient settled down, then to the parrot beak rock, then to the place of the sloth, then to the place of the bark-cloth trees, then to the rocks of the manioc graters, then to the place of the deer, and then to the place of the small parakeets, where *Opómbibekũ* lived [a dwarf with an enormous penis]. Finally, they went to the place of the stone people [at the head of the Cuduiarí].

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TRADITIONAL NAMES IN THE *BAHÚKIWA* GENEALOGIES

MALE	MALE	FEMALE
Aribahúkũ	*Kwũnkwũ* or *Kwdhũnkwũ*	*Bahúko*
Arienakũ	*Miahekudjo*	*Hehénabo*
Bahúkũ	*Onpóhena*	*Henáko*
Bahúkũbekũdjo	*Onpwénba*	*Henákuwa*
Bahúkũdjitca	*Onpwénda*	*Iho*
Bekũbo	*Onpwéndabu*	*Ihoruko*
Bwũ	*Onpwéndakũ*	*Kokúhenako*
Hardkũ		*Kokúiko*

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MALE	MALE	FEMALE
Hehéna	*Onpwénda kwdhûnkwd*	*Midnko*
Iidtû	*Onpwéndawa*	*Opwéndoko*
Kohdhena	*Wéhena*	
Kohal	*Wai*	
Kohaidi	*Waihomu*	
Kohalhû	*Waihomûhûtû*	
Komâri	*Waimoya*	
Kumûra		

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pared. The defense leader was the headman's son. An earlier alarm had already brought the Independents to the main house and a boy had been sent to call in the Satellites and to warn the neighboring sibs. The headman's son, after a hasty consultation with the other young adults, decided upon a psychological defense. He fetched a police officer's discarded white tunic with brass buttons and shoulder straps that he had been cherishing, put it on over his bare body, and strode out to frighten the enemey. The women and children were assembled in the maloca with one man as their guard. Other men fanned out through the manioc gardens and into the surrounding brush to search out the enemy. One stray shot was fired by a defender. The house was kept under guard for several nights thereafter and then the danger was declared past.

An attack by the Cariban Umaua (*Maúnwa*) that occurred three generations ago is still vividly recalled. The *Bahúkiwa*, warned that the enemy was ascending the Cuduiarí by canoe, prepared an ambush. They dammed the river with the bark sheeting of house walls and waited to assail the enemy with bow and arrow. But the enemy were armed with rifles and they killed a great many of the *Bahúkiwa*.

When the attackers first came, the Indians on the Cuduiarí did not know whether they were men or women, because they wore their hair long and were dressed in long shirts. The Umaua attacks were so fierce that for several years the Indians were forced to abandon the Cuduiarí altogether. Some gave up farming and lived on the savannah, foraging fruits and nuts and eating tree bark. When they finally returned to the Cuduiarí, the manioc plantations were all gone and they had to resume manioc cultivations from seeds they had preserved. The other Indians of the Cuduiarí gathered on the Vaupés under the direction of a *Hehénewa* war leader, who told them that the white man would save them from their enemies. He made a clay image called a *tupana* (the Tupían and lingua franca for a deity). They danced and sang for two months, until a Colombian came. The idea of the *tupana* came, they say, from a Brazilian caboclo. When the Colombian arrived, he told them that he had heard their singing in Bogotá and had come to rescue them. They then returned to their former homes on the Cuduiarí.

In past years raids were more frequent and determined.[a] The Cubeo fought with bow and arrow and protected themselves with body-length shields of stiffened animal hide, deer, jaguar, or tapir. The

[a] Tribes with whom the Indians of the Cuduiarí claim to have fought include the Cariban Umaua, all the formerly Arawakan sibs of the Querarí River, tribes of the Isana River, and the *Hehénewa*, after they had arrived from the Papurí.